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ABSTRACT

This is a report on school desegregation in Bogalusa, Louisiana. This school district was selected for study because it offered the unique opportunity to study school desegregation in a rural setting. In the past, Bogalusa operated a dual system of education. In 1965, black parents filed a lawsuit on behalf of their children; Jenkins V. Bogalusa School Board. Although this lawsuit led to the development of a desegregation plan, desegregation has not completely eradicated the patterns of black and white separation. This report examined Bogalusa's efforts to desegregate its public schools. It discussed the problems counselors, teachers, and students have had and are still facing with respect to school desegregation. Media coverage, interviews, and a comprehensive review of the legal proceedings in the law suit were used to establish the reasons why desegregation was initiated. The report also looked at the process through which desegregation was implemented, the community's reaction, and the effect desegregation had on the students. Among the findings of the study are: (1) despite some degree of physical desegregation, many elements within the educational program of the district still contain vestiges of the dual school system, (2) the school board and superintendent have displayed a lack of commitment to bringing about successful school desegregation through their failure to educate the community on all action required to bring about an effective desegregation effort, (3) the district has promoted a continuation of segregated social functions and extracurricular activities by classifying them as "offcampus", (4) black students were found to be suspended more frequently than white students, and (5) an unusually high number of black students were found to be in special education classes. (Author/AM)

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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN BOGALUSA, LOUISIANA

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September 1977

UDO 17806

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN BOGALUSA, LOUISIANA

--A report prepared by the Louisiana Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights

JAN 10 1978

ATTRIBUTION:

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

LOUISIANA ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE
U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
September 1977

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Sirs and Madam:

As part of the national project on school desegregation, interviews were conducted in Bogalusa, Louisiana, during the early part of February 1976. As a result of this investigation, the Advisory Committee found it necessary to further study desegregation and its effect on the Bogalusa community. Followup interviews and more extensive research were carried out to further understand the process and progress of desegregation.

This report examines the attitudes of the community and school district personnel regarding desegregation from 1965 to the present. The litigative process in Jenkins v. City of Bogalusa School Board and the community's development during this period of change are described in great detail.

We have addressed many useful recommendations to the school district, the school board, and pertinent Federal agencies. We feel these recommendations offer positive measures to correct problems which the district is experiencing 7 years after desegregation.

Successful desegregation requires extensive, continuing planning which we believe the Bogalusa School District has failed to provide. Therefore, we request that the Commission support our recommendations and use its influence to bring about corrective measures.

Respectfully,

/s/
DR. JEWEL L. PRESTAGE
Chairperson

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Advisory Committee wishes to thank the staff of the Commission's Southwestern Regional Office in San Antonio, Texas, for its help in the preparation of this report. Research and writing assistance was provided by Maria Aurora Carvajal; Ernest Gerlach, research writer; and Gloria Cabrera, regional attorney. The project was directed by Aurora Carvajal. Additional staff support was provided by Norma Valle, secretary. All worked under the direction and guidance of J. Richard Avena, Regional Director.

Final edit and review was conducted in the Commission's Publication Management Division, Washington, D.C.

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PREFACE

The United States Commission on Civil Rights released on August 24, 1976, its report to the Nation: Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law: Desegregation of the Nation's Public Schools.

The report's findings and recommendations were based upon information gathered during a 10-month school desegregation project. This included four formal hearings (Boston, Massachusetts; Denver, Colorado; Louisville, Kentucky; and Tampa, Florida); four open meetings held by State Advisory Committees (Berkeley, California; Corpus Christi, Texas; Minneapolis, Minnesota; and Stamford, Connecticut); a survey of nearly 1,300 local school districts; and 29 case studies of communities which had difficulties with desegregation, had moderate success with desegregation, or had substantial success with desegregation.

Subsequent to the report's release, considerable interest was generated concerning the specifics of the case study findings, which, owing to space limitations in the national report, were limited to a few brief paragraphs. In an effort to comply with public requests for more detailed information, Commission staff have prepared monographs for each of the case studies. These monographs were written from the extensive field notes already collected and supplemented, if needed, with further interviews in each community. They reflect, in detail, the original case study purpose of finding which local policies, practices, and programs in each community surveyed contributed to peaceful desegregation and which ones did not.

It is hoped that the following monograph will serve to further an understanding of the school desegregation process in this Nation.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In the early part of February 1976, staff from the Southwestern Regional Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and members of the Louisiana Advisory Committee to the Commission conducted a study on school desegregation in Bogalusa, Louisiana.

The Bogalusa school district was selected by the Advisory Committee because it offered the uniqueness of studying school desegregation in a rural setting. As part of its investigations, Commission staff and Advisory Committee members interviewed numerous community leaders, school officials, school board members, concerned parents, and private citizens to obtain a perspective of the desegregation process and its effects in Bogalusa. Extensive research was also carried out by Commission staff to assess the district's effort to desegregate its school system.

In the past, Bogalusa operated a dual system of education.[1] However, in 1965, black community leaders, in an attempt to provide a better education for their children, waged a major effort to bring about change. A group of black parents decided to file a lawsuit on behalf of their school age children and the black community against the Bogalusa school board. The case, Jenkins v. Bogalusa School Board,[2] initiated efforts towards desegregation of district schools.

The plaintiffs based their argument on previous court rulings that racially separate schools are not equal and alleged that Bogalusa school district was racially segregated.[3] A desegregation plan was subsequently developed and implemented, however, desegregation has not completely eradicated the patterns of black and white separation.[4]

This report will examine Bogalusa's efforts to desegregate its public schools. It will discuss the

problems counselors, teachers, and students had and still are facing with respect to school desegregation. Media coverage, interviews, and a comprehensive review of the legal proceedings in Jenkins will be used to establish the reasons why desegregation was initiated. The report will also look at the process through which desegregation was implemented, the community's reaction, and the effect desegregation has had on the direct recipients of this endeavor: the students.

The Advisory Committee concludes the report with its findings of desegregation in Bogalusa. Through these findings, the Committee has established the important role the school board and the Bogalusa community have played in carrying out the desegregation process. Whether desegregation has been a failure or a success, the Committee is of the opinion that facts and community sentiment towards desegregation should be presented. To attain equal education for all children requires the review of actions hindering desegregation and positive measures for its resolution.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Jenkins v. Bogalusa School Board, Civ. No. 15798 (E.D. La., Aug. 12, 1965) at 4.

2. Ibid., at 1-5.

3. Jenkins, Original Complaint, July 19, 1965, at 2; Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

4. Student representatives, faculty member, principals, and superintendent, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-10, 1976.

II. A COMMUNITY PROFILE

Bogalusa is a medium-sized, rural southern town. The name is derived from an Indian-named creek, known as "Bogue Lusa," which flows through the area. Situated at the far eastern border of Washington Parish, the town is within the "Florida Parishes" section of the Pearl River (the dividing line between Louisiana and Mississippi) in an area known as the Pearl River Valley. It is located approximately 73 miles north of New Orleans and 95 miles east of Baton Rouge.

The Goodyear Industries of Buffalo, New York, founded Bogalusa in 1906 and at that time established the Great Southern Lumber Company. Bogalusa was incorporated on July 4, 1914, with a commission form of government (presently still in effect).[1] Throughout the years, several different lumber companies have operated the paper mill in Bogalusa. Companies such as the Bogalusa Paper Company, succeeded by the Gaylord Container Corporation, continued to provide the major source of tax revenue for the town. The Crown Zellerbach Corporation acquired the Gaylord Container Corporation in 1955. Today, Crown Zellerbach is the major employer, the main industrial complex, and the largest taxpayer within Bogalusa. In 1975 Crown Zellerbach contributed approximately 63 percent in property and sales taxes to Bogalusa; property tax alone totaled approximately $881,000.[2] Crown Zellerbach is also the South's largest manufacturer of pulp, boxes, bags, and other brown paper products.[3]

Over the past 10 years the parish has experienced a gradual decline in population. In 1964 Washington Parish had a population of 43,748. In 1974 the parish population had declined to 42,300, a 3.3 percent decrease.[4] Much of this decline in population could possibly be attributed to outmigration and changing demographic factors. For example, the total number of

births has gradually decreased and the total number of deaths in the parish has gradually increased.[5] The changing birth and mortality characteristics of the population have affected, in part, the school situation in Bogalusa and Washington Parish.

The 1970 census indicates that the population of Washington Parish was 41,987; blacks comprised 32.2 percent and whites 67.8 percent of the total population.[6] Of the 10,630 families residing in the parish, 26.9 percent were black and 73.1 percent were white.[7] More than 60 percent of all black families in the parish had an income of less than $5,000.[8] White families fared somewhat better: slightly more than 30 percent of all white families in the parish had incomes of less than $5,000.

The overall median income for the entire parish was $6,377. In contrast, the State median was $7,530.[9] Poverty has been a severe problem in Washington Parish. For example, in 1970 nearly 3,000 families had incomes below the poverty level.[10] Of those families, 52.8 percent were black and 47.2 percent were white.[11]

Within the corporate limits of Bogalusa the population was 18,412; blacks constituted 6,159 or approximately 33 percent.[12] In a study prepared by the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, the total 1975 population for Bogalusa was estimated at 17,415.[13] Table 1 describes the population trends and projections for the city of Bogalusa and Washington Parish. The statistics projected in table 1 clearly indicate that since 1960 there has been a decrease in the city's population. Comparing the population trends between 1960 and 1970, the city's population decreased from 21,423 to 18,412, a 14.1 percent decrease. By 1985 the city's population is expected to decline to 15,298.[14]

An important socioeconomic indicator is the number of school years completed by the local population. Figure 1 shows the percentage of school years completed in the State, parish, and Bogalusa, respectively, for both black and white populations 25 years old and over. State figures show that more than 45 percent of the white population had completed a high school education or higher. In contrast, only about 20 percent of

Table 1

Population Trends and Projections
City of Bogalusa and Washington Parish
1930-1985

Year	Bogalusa Population	Washington Parish Population
1930	14,029[a]	29,094[a]
1940	14,604[a]	34,443[a]
1950	17,798[a]	38,371[a]
1960	21,423[a]	44,015[a]
1965	20,517[b]	46,981[c]
1970	18,412[a]	41,987[a]
1975	17,415[d]	39,715[e]
1980	16,366[d]	37,325[e]
1985	15,298[e]	34,887[e]

SOURCE: Bogalusa City Government: Analysis and Recommendations for a More Effective Operation, prepared by The Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, Inc., (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, December 1972), p.2.

[a]U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Number of Inhabitants, Louisiana, Final Report PC (1)-20A (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), 20-8.

[b]Based on census by Robert S. Bateman and Associates, Inc., 1965.

[c]Louisiana State University, New Orleans, College of Business Administration, Division of Business and Economic Research, Statistical Abstract of Louisiana (New Orleans: 1965).

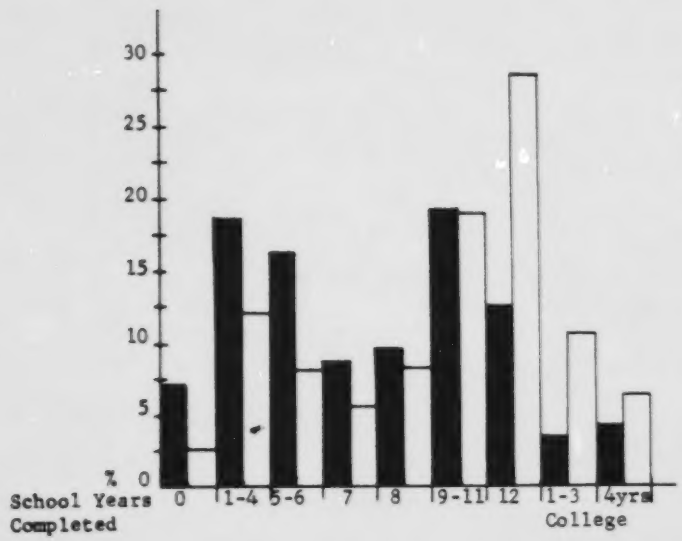
[d]Estimates assuming that 1970 ratio of city and parish population remains constant through projection period.

[e]Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, College of Business Administration, Division of Research, Population Projections by Age, Race and Sex for Louisiana and Its Parishes, 1970-1985, Occasional Paper Number 10 (Baton Rouge: June 1972).

FIGURE 1

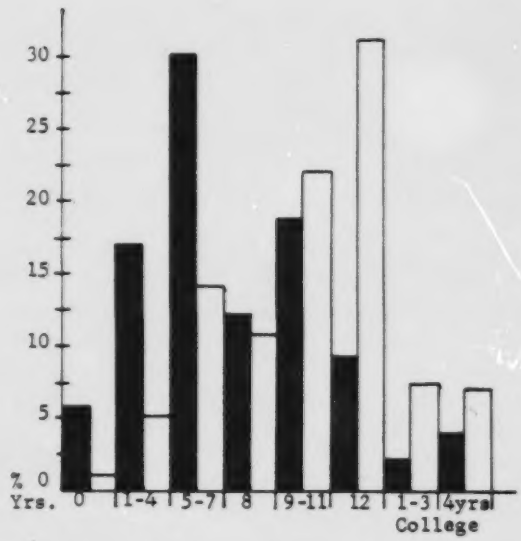
A

Percentage of School Years Completed in State for Black and White Population 25 Years Old and Over - 1970[1]



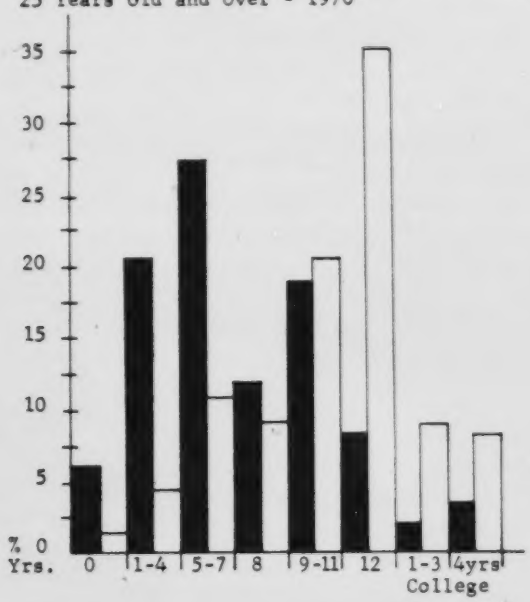
B

Percentage of School Years Completed in Washington Parish for Black and White Population 25 Years Old and Over 1970[2]



C

Percentage of School Years Completed in Bogalusa for Black and White Population 25 Years Old and Over - 1970[3]



SOURCE: U.S. Census of Population: 1970 General Social and Economic Characteristics: Louisiana PC1-C20.

1. Data derived from Table 51, p. 163.
2. Data derived from Table 120, p. 324, and Table 125, p. 354.
3. Data derived from Table 103, p. 267, and Table 108, p. 282.

Black Population

White Population

blacks 25 years old or over had completed a high school education.

Blacks in Washington Parish have a significantly lower educational level than whites. Only 15.4 percent of blacks had at least completed a high school education in comparison to 46.5 percent for whites. Based on the given percentages, the median school years completed for blacks within the parish is 8.0.[15]

The total number of school years completed for the population in Bogalusa is even more striking than the percentage for the State or parish. Slightly more than 52 percent of the white population completed a high school education or higher. Only about 14 percent of all the blacks residing in Bogalusa have attained a high school education. The median education level for the white population in Bogalusa is 10.7 years, while the median for the black population in Bogalusa is only 7.9.[16]

In the 1975-76 school year the Bogalusa school district operated eight elementary, one junior high, and one senior high school. The total enrollment for the district was 4,660.[17] Table 2 describes the student enrollment by school for the 1976-77 school year. The total enrollment for the latest school year is at 4,608. These figures further reveal that, in comparison to the total population, the ratio of black to white students is fairly proportionate throughout the district with the exception of three elementary schools: Columbia, Superior, and Byrd Avenue.

Figure 2 shows the locations of all existing schools in the district, and provides information on schools enrolling 40 percent or more black students and areas of significant black concentration. There are three major black neighborhoods in Bogalusa: Moton Quarter, Poplas Quarter, and the Southeast Black Neighborhood. These areas are for the most part composed of low-income families. This figure also indicates a high degree of residential segregation in the town.

Table 3 describes the overall employment in the Bogalusa school district by job category as of February 1976. At that time, the district employed 299 full-

Table 2

Number of Students Enrolled
in Schools for 1976-77

Name of School	Total Black	Total White	Total Enrollment	Percent White	Percent Black
Columbia Street Elem.	104	105	209	50.2	49.8
Superior Avenue Elem.	215	244	459	53.2	46.8
Byrd Avenue Elem.	153	204	357	57.1	42.9
Denhamtown Elementary	82	157	239	65.7	34.3
Northside Elementary	94	157	251	62.5	37.5
Long Avenue Elementary	57	143	200	71.5	28.5
Terrace Elementary	61	107	168	63.7	36.3
Pleasant Hill Elementary	128	278	406	68.5	31.5
Bogalusa Jr. High School	331	522	853	61.2	38.8
Bogalusa High East	161	231	392	41.1	58.9
Bogalusa High West	390	684	1,074	63.7	36.3
Total	1,776	2,832	4,608	61.5	38.5

SOURCE: Bogalusa School Board ESAA Proposal (HEW/OCR), 1976.

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22. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Fact Sheet, information provided by the Bogalusa City School District, February 1976.

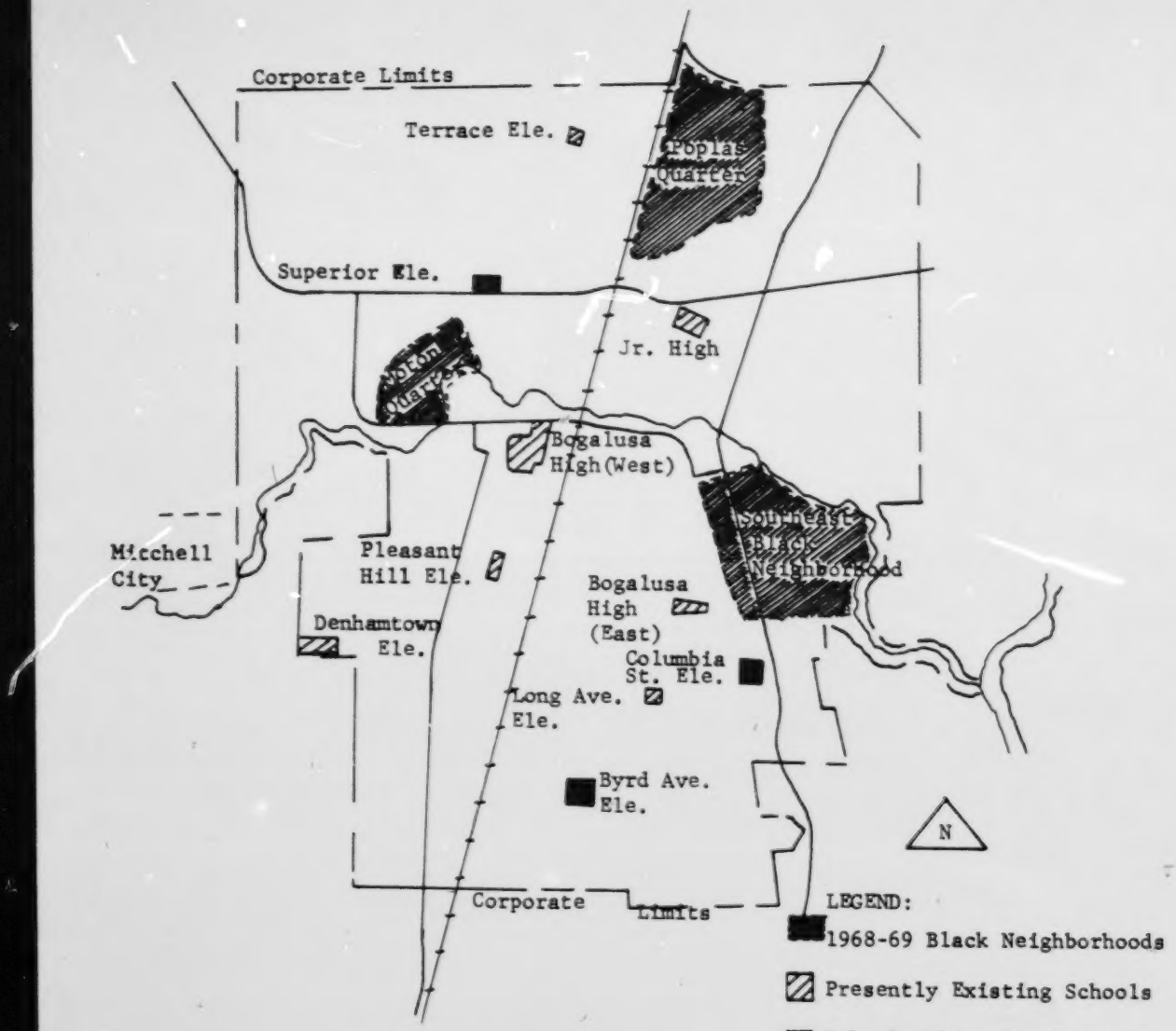


FIGURE 2

Location of Existing Schools Within the City of Bogalusa

SOURCE: Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, Inc., Bogalusa City Government, Baton Rouge, La.

Table 3

Overall Employment by Race and Job Category - Full-time Staff Only - 1975-76 School Year - Bogalusa School District

Activity Assignment Classification	Totals	SCHOOL DISTRICT			
		White	Black	Spanish Surnamed	Asian American
Officials, Managers, Administrators	5	5	0	0	0
Principals	10	9	1	0	0
Assistant Principals	4	1	3	0	0
Guidance and Psychology	3	3	0	0	0
Other Professionals	3	3	0	0	0
School Board Office Clerical/Bookkeeping	7	7	0	0	0
Teachers	267	190	77	0	0
Totals	299	218	81	0	0

Administrators and Staff	Totals	SCHOOL BOARD OFFICE			
		White	Black	Spanish Surnamed	Asian American
School Board Members	5	5	0	0	0
Superintendent	1	1	0	0	0
Administrative Staff	10	10	0	0	0
School Board Clerical Staff	7	7	0	0	0
Totals	23	23	0	0	0

SOURCE: Bogalusa School Board Office, 1976; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Fact Sheet, Information provided by the Bogalusa City School District, February 1976.

time staff members. Of this total, 267 or approximately 89 percent were employed as teachers. Seventy-seven or about 29 percent of the faculty were black.

The district, which enrolls roughly 40 percent black and 60 percent white students, appears to have an underrepresentation of black faculty members. According to staff interviews, there are no positive measures being taken by the district to recruit more minorities into professional positions.[18] According to the school superintendent, the district does not have an affirmative action plan.[19]

At the administrative level, blacks comprised only a very small percentage of the nonteaching professional staff. During the 1975-76 school year only four blacks were employed in top administrative positions. Of the district's 10 principals, there was only 1 black. However, of the four assistant principals employed by the district, three were black (see table 3).

Within the school board's administrative offices, there were 23 persons employed as administrators or clerical staff; no blacks were employed in these categories.

Tables 4 and 5 describe the racial composition of the student body and faculty for school years 1968-69, 1972-73, and 1974-75. Before the desegregation order of 1969, the Bogalusa school system had eight elementary schools (grades one through seven) with a total enrollment of 14.2 percent black and 85.8 percent white. In addition, there were two all-black elementary schools which included grades one through eight, and a junior high (grades eight and nine). In 1968 there were also two high schools, one all black and the other with a 94.7 percent white student enrollment (see table 4).

Table 4 also shows the student body composition for 1968 as having a definite segregated pattern, with certain schools displaying 100 percent black enrollment. The 1968 racial representation of the full-time teaching staff within individual schools was not as glaringly segregated as were students, but faculties were not totally integrated (see table 5).

Table 4

Bogalusa District Schools and Racial Composition of Student Body
1968-69, 1972-73 and 1974-75 School Years

	Fall 1968 Schools and Racial Composition of Student Body [1]						Fall 1972 Schools and Racial Composition of Student Body [2]						Fall 1974 Schools and Racial Composition of Student Body [3]					
	Black		White		Total****		Black		White		Total****		Black		White		Total****	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Grades	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Grades	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Grades
District Total	2199	37.1%	3731	62.9%	5930	All	2151	40.4%	3178	59.6%	5329	All	1881	38.6%	2990	61.4%	4871	All
Byrd Ave. Elem.	92	24.5%	283	75.5%	375	1 - 7	155	40.3%	230	59.7%	385	K - 6	161	41.7%	225	58.3%	386	K - 6
Columbia St. Elem.	135	73.8%	48	26.2%	183	1 - 7	79	40.7%	115	59.3%	194	K - 6	87	43.3%	114	56.7%	201	K - 6
Denhamtown Elem.	7	3.6%	187	96.4%	194	1 - 7	159	42.2%	218	57.8%	377	K - 6	90	34.2%	173	65.8%	263	K - 6
Long Ave. Elem.	59	23.6%	191	76.4%	250	1 - 7	59	32.1%	125	67.9%	184	K - 6	62	34.3%	119	65.7%	181	K - 6
Northside Elem.	63	15.3%	349	84.7%	412	1 - 7	138	39.0%	216	61.0%	354	K - 6	128	40.3%	190	59.7%	318	K - 6
Pleasant Hill Elem.	--	--	583	100.0%	583	1 - 7	200	41.4%	283	58.6%	483	K - 6	135	32.4%	282	67.6%	417	K - 6
Superior Ave. Elem.	--	--	372	100.0%	372	1 - 7	179	40.4%	264	59.6%	443	K - 6	187	45.1%	228	54.9%	415	K - 6
Terrace Elem.	--	--	138	100.0%	138	1 - 7	79	40.9%	114	59.1%	193	K - 6	72	37.5%	120	62.5%	192	K - 6
Sub Total	356	14.2%	2151	85.8%	2507													
North Ave. Elem.*	563	100.0%	---	---	563	1 - 8												
Poplas Elem.*	602	100.0%	---	---	602	1 - 8												
Bogalusa Jr. High	83	10.5%	704	89.5%	787	8 - 9	394	40.7%	575	59.3%	969	7 - 8	380	39.7%	577	60.3%	957	7 - 8
Central Memorial High (Bogalusa High East)****	546	100.0%	---	---	546	9 - 12	214	42.7%	287	57.3%	501	9	139	35.8%	249	64.2%	388	9
Bogalusa High (Bogalusa High West)***	49	5.3%	876	94.7%	925	10 - 12	495	39.7%	751	60.3%	1246	10 - 12	440	38.2%	713	61.8%	1153	10 - 12

*Schools closed due to 1969 desegregation move.
**Only high school with grades 9-12.
***New school established in 1969.
****Total percent figures for each school for 1968, 1972 and 1974 equal 100.0%.

SOURCE: [1]Fall 1968, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts. [2]Fall 1972, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts. [3]Fall 1974, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Survey, Form OS/CR 101-102.

Table 5

Bogalusa District Schools and Racial Composition of Full-time Teachers
1968-69, 1972-73 and 1974-75 School Years

	1968 Racial Composition of Full-time Teachers[1]						1972 Racial Composition of Full-time Teachers[2]						1974 Racial Composition of Full-time Teachers[3]					
	Black		White		Total		Black		White		Total		Black		White		Total	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
District Total	80	32.3%	168	67.7%	248	100.0%	65	28.8%	161	71.2%	226	100.0%	73	32.4%	152	67.6%	225	100.0%
Byrd Ave. Elem.	2	14.3%	12	85.7%	14	100.0%	4	26.7%	11	73.3%	15	100.0%	4	30.8%	9	69.2%	13	100.0%
Columbia Street Elem.	2	25.0%	6	75.0%	8	100.0%	4	50.0%	4	50.0%	8	100.0%	5	50.0%	5	50.0%	10	100.0%
Denhamtown Elem.	2	28.6%	5	71.4%	7	100.0%	4	28.6%	10	71.4%	14	100.0%	3	25.0%	9	75.0%	12	100.0%
Long Avenue Elem.	2	20.0%	8	80.0%	10	100.0%	2	25.0%	6	75.0%	8	100.0%	2	28.6%	5	71.4%	7	100.0%
Northside Elem.	3	20.0%	12	80.0%	15	100.0%	4	28.6%	10	71.4%	14	100.0%	2	15.4%	11	84.6%	13	100.0%
Pleasant Hill Elem.	3	14.3%	18	85.7%	21	100.0%	6	33.3%	12	66.7%	18	100.0%	8	44.4%	10	55.6%	18	100.0%
Superior Ave. Elem.	2	12.5%	14	87.5%	16	100.0%	5	26.2%	14	73.7%	19	100.0%	6	31.6%	13	68.4%	19	100.0%
Terrace Elem.	2	28.6%	5	71.4%	7	100.0%	2	25.0%	6	75.0%	8	100.0%	7	53.8%	6	46.2%	13	100.0%
North Ave. Elem.*	17	81.0%	4	19.0%	21	100.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Poplas Elem.*	17	81.0%	4	19.0%	21	100.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bogalusa Jr. High	3	7.7%	36	92.3%	39	100.0%	16	38.1%	26	61.9%	42	100.0%	16	38.1%	26	61.9%	42	100.0%
Central Memorial (Bogalusa High East)**	23	82.1%	5	17.9%	28	100.0%	7	28.0%	18	72.0%	25	100.0%	9	39.1%	13	60.9%	22	100.0%
Bogalusa High (Bogalusa High West)**	2	4.9%	39	95.1%	41	100.0%	11	20.0%	44	80.0%	55	100.0%	11	19.6%	45	80.4%	56	100.0%

*Schools closed after 1969.
**New schools established in 1969.

SOURCE: [1]Fall 1968, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts. [2]Fall 1972, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts. [3]Fall 1974, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Elementary-Secondary Staff Information, Form 168B.

For both the 1972-73 and 1974-75 school years, the makeup of the student population in the district remained stable at an average of 60 percent white and 40 percent black. In comparison, the faculty was not as successfully integrated. On the basis of the racial makeup of the student population in the district, black teachers were underrepresented. At Bogalusa High School during the 1974-75 school year, for example, black teachers made up less than 20 percent of the faculty (see table 5). At the same time, the student enrollment at Bogalusa High was approximately 38 percent black and 62 percent white (see table 4). At Northside Elementary, blacks comprised about 40 percent of the student enrollment (see table 4), but black teachers made up less than 20 percent of the teaching staff (see table 5).

There has been a constant decline in the number of black teachers employed by the district. In 1968 blacks made up 32 percent of the teaching staff, and during school year 1975-76, 29 percent (see table 3).

According to staff interviews, blacks have always been severely underrepresented in terms of employment in the school district.[20] The school district has never developed an affirmative action plan, nor has it actively sought blacks for faculty and administrative positions. Many blacks in Bogalusa have also indicated their concern over the lack of black representation on the school board.[21]

The present method of electing school board members in the district is through at-large elections, but this process has consistently produced a school board made up of only white citizens even though blacks are nearly 40 percent of the district's student enrollment. One community leader felt that blacks could never obtain fair representation on the school board because of the present election system.[22] Another black leader said that he does not expect a black ever to be elected under the current method.[23]

If a public school system is to be effective and responsive, it must be able to work with all segments of the community. However, many citizens in Bogalusa--both blacks and whites--have questioned the commitment of the school administration and the school board to

bringing about equal educational opportunity in the public schools. Moreover, there is strong evidence indicating that school officials have failed to respond in an aggressive manner to deal with the complex problems surrounding school desegregation.[24]

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Don Fenderfon, city attorney, telephone interview, Nov. 19, 1976. See La. Acts of 1914, No. 14, §§ 1-44, 46-64.

2. Bogalusa City Hall, Payroll and Bookkeeping Department, Sept. 28, 1976.

3. Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, Inc., Bogalusa City Government (Baton Rouge, La.: 1972), p. 1.

4. State Planning Office, Population, Births, and Deaths by Race and by Birth and Death Rates 1960 to 1974 (Baton Rouge, La.: August 1976), table 12.

5. Ibid.

6. U.S., Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics: Louisiana, PC1-C20, table 119 (hereafter cited as General Social and Economic Characteristics).

7. Ibid., tables 124 and 125.

8. Ibid., table 128.

9. Ibid., table 57.

10. The Bureau of the Census defines poverty in the following manner:

> In 1969, the poverty thresholds ranged from $1,487 for a female unrelated individual 65 years old and over living on a farm to $6,116 for a nonfarm family with a male head and with seven or more persons. The average poverty threshold for a nonfarm family of four headed by a male was $3,745.
>
> Poverty thresholds are computed on a national basis only. No attempt has been made to adjust these thresholds for regional, State, or other local variations in the cost of

living (except for the farm-nonfarm differential described above).

See General Social and Economic Characteristics, p. App. 30.

11. Ibid., tables 124 and 128.

12. Ibid., table 108.

13. Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, Inc., Bogalusa City Government (Baton Rouge, La.: 1972), p. 2.

14. Ibid.

15. General Social and Economic Characteristics, tables 120 and 125.

16. Ibid., tables 103 and 108.

17. Information provided by the Bogalusa City School District, February 1976.

18. School personnel, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-10, 1976.

19. Superintendent Frank Mobley, telephone interview, October 1976.

20. School personnel, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-10, 1976.

21. Counselor, faculty member, and community member, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-10, 1976.

22. Community representative, staff interview, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 11, 1976.

23. Community representative, staff interview, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9, 1976.

24. Emmett Breland, school board member; I. Magnitsky, school board member; A. E. Knight, school board member; and Superintendent Mobley, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-11, 1976.

III. SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN BOGALUSA: A COMMUNITY DIVIDED

On July 19, 1965, black citizens and community leaders filed a civil action against the Bogalusa school board. Plaintiffs sought to enjoin the board from continuing the allegedly compulsory segregative policies and practices of the school district. The suit alleged that the district's operation was completely segregated, with principals, faculty, personnel, and students assigned solely on the basis of their race to schools designated as white or black. The plaintiffs further alleged that the district racially discriminated through school construction, budgeting, and allocation of school funds. Allegations specifically referred to schools being constructed to maintain a racially segregated school system and that the extracurricular activities within the schools were intentionally formulated to separate the races.[1]

The plaintiffs at that time sought resolution of their grievances by petitioning the court to direct the school board to present a complete plan which would reorganize the entire school system on a desegregated basis. Such a plan would include the reassignment of faculty, students, and professional school personnel.[2]

In response to the plaintiffs' request, on August 12, 1965, the district court ordered the Bogalusa school district to execute a desegregation plan referred to as the "Freedom of Choice Plan."[3] This plan enabled students in grades 1 and 12 to have the option of attending any school within the district regardless of race. The order stated that:

> All reassignments of pupils to the first and twelth grades in all schools under the supervision and control of the City of Bogalusa School Board shall be made purely and simply on the basis of individual choice,

> for assignment in accordance with the procedures hereinabove established, and reserving to the school board through its authorized representatives, the right to place a pupil in a school other than the school of his choice should there be a comparable school closer to the pupil's residence than is the school of his choice.[4]

Succeeding school years would incorporate additional grades. Thus, by the 1967-68 school year, all grades would be under the "Freedom of Choice Plan." Teachers and administrators were not included in the order.[5]

It was during this period that significant public moves were made by certain individuals in the white community favoring integration. Those individual efforts to eradicate the injustices of a totally segregated community sparked threatening responses from elements within the white community which opposed such a move. Members of the Ku Klux Klan, for example, waged a major effort against those whites favoring integration.

Although many blacks thought that the "Freedom of Choice Plan" was a very conservative move towards desegregation, it was not well received by the white community. Thus, voluntary desegregation unfolded amidst the turmoil of racial problems and violence during 1965 and 1966. There was some degree of integration but the results were negligible. For example, in May of 1966 there were only four blacks attending the white high school and only two blacks attending a predominantly white elementary school.[6] As a result of alleged police harassment and white "terrorists," the black community formed what was then called the Deacons for Defense and Justice, an armed black community organization.[7] James Farmer, former director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), explained in an interview with the New York Times why the organization was formed:

> They (the Deacons for Defense and Justice) did not and do not seek violence. But an embattled Negro community decided it needed

> to defend itself from the Klan and others in that state.
>
> Understand, the Deacons don't replace legal law enforcement--there is no such thing as legal law enforcement in much of the South that will protect a Negro citizen.[8]

Owing to the limited integration initiated by the 1965 plan, the plaintiffs filed a motion for supplemental relief. Based on the facts presented by them, the court issued a supplemental and amended order to the "Freedom of Choice Plan." The most significant aspect of the amendment was section VI which concerned faculty and staff. Within this section the court took its first definite stand for integration by stating:

> The Superintendent of Schools and his staff will take affirmative steps to solicit and encourage teachers presently employed in the system to accept transfers to schools in which the majority of the faculty members are of a race different from that of the teacher to be transferred.[9]

The amendment further ordered that:

> The Superintendent will fill all faculty vacancies by reassigning presently employed faculty members to such vacancies in a manner that will correct the effects of the past pattern of assignments based upon race to the end that the faculty of each school will be composed of both white and Negro teachers.[10]

This first move by the court to integrate the faculty gradually received considerable protest from white teachers. The school administration sympathized with the white faculty and generally reflected the views of the white community.[11] To many, this opposition hindered the efforts of those who favored desegregation. However, the August 15, 1966, amendment to the "Freedom of Choice Plan" increased the pressure on school board members to integrate faculties.[12] The New York Times reported the uneasiness of school officials to comply with such an order:

> School officials in this racially tense mill town are moving gingerly fearful of new flare-ups over school desegregation. Their overriding concern is a Federal court order that not only expedites integration here, but also requires them to seek a Negro applicant to fill the first vacancy on the teaching staff at predominantly white schools. Normally, there are several vacancies each year.
>
> Many Bogalusa whites, including those regarded as moderates, say that the community, still swallowing very hard over the integration of 85 Negroes into white schools this month, will not accept a Negro teacher at this time. Faculty desegregation appears to be the most inflammatory element in the racial issue here.[13]

On August 30, 1967, a resolution was unanimously adopted by the Bogalusa chapter of the Louisiana Teachers Association (LTA)--an all-white teachers' association--stating that white teachers considered their contracts with the district to teach at assigned schools to be legal and binding. They further declared that any teacher reassigned without that teacher's prior consent would result in the refusal of all members of the Bogalusa chapter of the LTA to work.[14]

That afternoon the district contacted principals at all-white schools and distributed questionnaires to faculties to determine which teachers would accept reassignment for the 1967-68 school session. All of the white teachers refused to accept reassignment to any school which had an all-black faculty. Because white teachers would not willingly accept transfers, black teachers were not asked to express their position on the questionnaires. According to then Superintendent M.J. Israel:

> It thus became clear that none of the white teachers would willingly vacate their classrooms and the submission of the questionnaire to the Negro teachers became moot.[15]

With respect to the "Freedom of Choice Plan" and the school board's responsibility to desegregate, U.S. District Judge Heebe was very emphatic in his criticism of the school district. He stated:

> The (school) boards have let the courts, usually the Federal district courts, bear their responsibilities for them. But this Federal Court, as well as every court, and every school board and every citizen, is bound by the law of the land. Prejudice and personal opinions, especially in the case of those who represent the people are no excuse for avoiding legal responsibilities.[16]

The first order to integrate faculties of the health, physical education, and ambulatory (teachers assigned to several schools) categories was issued January 19, 1968, by Judge Heebe. Fifteen white teachers and eight black teachers were affected by the order.[17] Initially, the 15 white teachers refused to accept the ordered alteration in their teaching schedules. However, when confronted by the LTA attorney with their alternatives--(1) to comply with the order, (2) to resign, or (3) to refuse to follow the new schedule, in which case the Federal court order would force the school board to fire them and they would further face the possibility of court action for contempt--14 teachers subsequently complied while 1 resigned.[18] The eight black teachers involved in the court order complied with the new assignments.[19]

Following the January 1968 order to integrate faculty in certain teaching areas, the school district further received directives from the district court to integrate 20 percent of its faculty and staff for the 1968-69 school year.[20] White faculty members, however, were strongly opposed to teaching at all-black schools. Consequently, many black parents questioned the effectiveness of white teachers in educating their children. Judge Heebe in 1970 expressed a similar concern of desegregation problems. In general, he said:

> A lot of work has to be done with teachers. Many are competent but resent Negro children.

> The children--if they don't know anything else--know this.[21]

On June 11, 1968, the district submitted a desegregation plan. This plan was subsequently rejected by U.S. District Judge Edward J. Boyle. Superintendent Israel commented on Judge Boyle's decision:

> We thought we had submitted a good and acceptable plan, we testified in the hearing on the plan that the two all-black schools should be maintained, because the average black student is two or three years below the level of the average white student, and that all-black schools would provide a 'haven' which black students could attend if they did not wish to compete with whites.[22]

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was concerned with the desegregation issue and attempted to facilitate this process through requests for meetings with school board officials. One example of such an attempt by the NAACP to meet with the superintendent is described below:

> We have had no definite information as to your proposed plan of desegregation of the Bogalusa schools. We have, however, seen notices in the press of a plan submitted by you to the U.S. District Court. Because of the deep concern of many members of the black community, I respectfully request that you advise us as to your plans in connection with the transfer, reassignment and employment of the black teachers, principals, and other personnel. We are particularly interested in future employment opportunities for qualified black teachers.[23]

Although the school district has accomplished a certain amount of integration among its faculties, a report to the district court reflecting the number of teachers at each school by race revealed continued patterns of segregation. (Table 6 shows the number of faculty by race assigned to each school for the 1968-69 school year).

Table 6

Number of Faculty Members Assigned to Schools
1968 - 1969 Session

School	Total	White	Percent	Black	Percent
Bogalusa High School	49	46	93.9%	3	6.1%
Central Memorial High	33	5	15.2%	28	84.8%
Bogalusa Junior High	43	40	93.0%	3	7.0%
Byrd Avenue Elementary	15	13	86.7%	2	13.3%
Columbia Street Elementary	9	7	77.8%	2	22.2%
Denhamtown Elementary	8	6	75.0%	2	25.0%
Long Avenue Elementary	11	9	81.8%	2	18.2%
Northside Elementary	16	13	81.3%	3	18.7%
Superior Avenue Elementary	17	15	88.2%	2	11.8%
Terrace Elementary	8	6	75.0%	2	25.0%
Pleasant Hill Elementary	22	19	86.4%	3	13.6%
Poplas Elementary	22	4	18.2%	18	81.8%
North Avenue Elementary	22	5	22.7%	17	77.3%
Total	275	188	68.4%	87	31.6%

SOURCE: Information provided by School District to Court in the Jenkins Case persuant to court order of August 15, 1966.

Of the 49 teachers employed at Bogalusa High School, for example, 46 were white and only 3 were black. Central Memorial High School, on the other hand, had a total of 33 teachers, of which 28 were black and only 5 were white. The elementary schools showed equal disparity in the percentage of white to black teaching staffs.

"Freedom of Choice" was abolished as a means for desegregating the Bogalusa school system through the court order of June 18, 1969. The order directed the district to formulate a plan which would ensure the immediate and effective eradication of racially identifiable schools.[24] In a letter to Judge Heebe, the district protested the order, stating:

> Every member of this school board is seriously concerned over the effect that such orders will have upon public school systems throughout this country and particularly the Bogalusa schools.
>
> At all past hearings this board through its superintendent and attorneys has taken the firm position that freedom of choice is both constitutional and the only educationally sound plan for school attendance. We sincerely believe that forced integration ignores the needs and abilities of individual pupils, deprives all people of their freedom, and is opposed by this board and the overwhelming majority of our people.[25]

The district court ordered a plan which would completely desegregate all Bogalusa schools by the 1969-70 school year.[26] Realizing that the desegregation court order could not be reversed, board members instructed the superintendent to develop a desegregation plan immediately. Although the board emphasized that it was opposed to desegregation, it was proceeding with a plan because there was no other alternative. Most board members interviewed preferred the neighborhood school concept, but said that desegregation was the law of the land.[27] According to one black community leader,[28] this stance was probably one of the most damaging to initial desegregation

attempts because of its negative reinforcing effect on the community.

The school board and the superintendent generally believed that desegregation disrupted the established educational system and burdened the district, and that without the court order there would not have been a desegregation move.[29] The fact that schools were closed and students transferred to meet integration ratios had no bearing on curriculums.[30] The district's main priority with desegregation was to comply with the court order. The resulting plan did not extend its proposed actions to include allowances for the educational change that students and faculty would have to undergo.

To comply with the district court's order, the school district proposed to close Poplas and North Avenue Elementary Schools (both formerly all-black schools) and eliminate the black high school. The plaintiffs, however, objected to the district's proposal, by stating that schools scheduled for closing were in better condition that those which were to remain open. Moreover, they said, such a move branded blacks as an inferior group. The plaintiffs used the argument made in Brown v. Board of Education which stated, in part, that:

> To separate them (Negroes) from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way very unlikely ever to be undone.[31]

The court did not agree with the plaintiffs, pointing out that the closing of all-black schools did not stigmatize blacks as an inferior group. This effort, according to the court, was intended to eradicate the inferior quality of education blacks had received. Furthermore, the court said, the closing of educationally inferior schools was not degrading for any race but was an attempt to bring about real school desegregation.[32]

In justifying its decision to close the all-black schools, the district court commented:

> The defendants having achieved a fully unitary school system with regard to student integration, we cannot and will not meddle in the administrative means used to accomplish this result in the absence of a showing by a preponderence of the evidence, that those means are in themselves discriminatory, regardless of how inefficient or wasteful the plan may appear to the plaintiffs or to the court.[33]

Judge Heebe was not completely satisfied with the plan submitted by the district. He further stated his concern:

> The proposed plan, however, failed to adequately describe the method to be used in reassigning Negro principals, teachers, and staff from the all-Negro schools to be closed. The plan cannot be implemented solely at the expense of Negro personnel. It is constitutionally impermissible for only Negro principals to be fired or demoted, or for only Negro teachers and other Negro personnel to be fired or demoted. If positions and responsibility are to be sacrificed as the price for the defendants' plan, then the burden must fall on a nonracial basis and the burden is on the defendants to see this is done.
>
> The plan is too sketchy to make a determination in this respect. Therefore, the defendants must submit to the court a detailed proposal showing the reassignment of the Negro principals, teachers, and other personnel from the Negro schools to be closed for the coming school year.[34]

On August 18, 1969, the Bogalusa school board submitted to U.S. district court an account of the faculty and teaching assignments as requested in the memorandum. Table 7 describes the administrative and faculty composition of the district for the 1969-70

Table 7

1969 Representation of Principals and Teachers
Bogalusa School District

Name of School	Principal		Teachers				Teacher Totals
	White	Black	White		Black		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Totals for District	10	0	168	67.7	80	32.3%	248
Byrd Avenue	1	0	8	66.7	4	33.3%	12
Columbia St. School	1	0	8	66.7	4	33.3%	12
Denhamtown School	1	0	8	66.7	4	33.3%	12
Long Ave. School	1	0	8	66.7	4	33.3%	12
Northside School	1	0	8	66.7	4	33.3%	12
Pleasant Hill School	1	0	12	66.7	6	33.3%	18
Superior Ave. School	1	0	8	66.7	4	33.3%	12
Terrace School	1	0	8	66.7	4	33.3%	12
Bogalusa Jr. High	1	0	32	64.0	18	36.0%	50
Bogalusa High School	1	0	68	70.8	28	29.2%	96

SOURCE: Bogalusa City School District Desegregation Plan: 1969.

Table 8

Number of Principals, Teachers, and Head Coaches by Race
for School Years 1964-65 and 1975-76

	BLACK			WHITE			TOTAL	
	1964-65	1975-76	Difference	1964-65	1975-76	Difference	1964-65	1975-76
Principals	4	1	- 3	10	9	- 1	14	10
Teachers	97	77	- 20	172	190	+18	269	267
Coaches	1	3	+ 2	1	8	+ 7	2	8
Total	102	81	- 21	183	207	+24	285	285

SOURCE: Health, Education and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, Bogalusa School District Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) Proposal 1976, p. 8.

school year. Although blacks comprised about one-third of the faculty, there were no black principals employed by the district. The district had employed four black principals in 1967, but, by 1969 all had been removed.[35]

Table 8 shows that, from 1964 to 1976 the number of black teachers on the faculty decreased by 20. In contrast, the number of white teachers employed by the district showed a net increase of 18. A comparison of the black teaching staff to white professionals for the 1964-65 and 1975-76 school years reveals a definite erosion of black representation.

The community as a whole expressed strong oppositon to the desegregation plan which the court approved on July 22, 1969. A white citizens' organization, the "Committee of Concerned Citizens," confronted the school board, requested withdrawal of its plan, and called for a return to the "Freedom of Choice Plan." The school board responded, in part, with the following statement:

> Each of us is deeply appreciative of the concern of which you have expressed over the unwarranted and unconstitutional action of the Federal Government designed to take over the operation of our public schools.
>
> We welcome and solicit your support, advice, and assistance in our battle to preserve public education.
>
> It is our firm and unyielding conviction that freedom of choice is the only educationally feasible plan for school attendance.[36]

The school board continued to explain that, if they persisted in only submitting the "Freedom of Choice Plan," the court would select a desegregation plan for the district. Consequently, the school board decided to submit a new plan, but explained:

> This does not imply that we have withdrawn from our conviction that freedom of choice is the best plan, for we are continuing through appeals to higher courts and requests for

> help directed to national leaders to retain freedom of choice and we are attempting to organize and join with other school boards in this effort.[37]

Prior to the 1969 desegregation plan, there were no special planning or training sessions, and no projects to facilitate preparations for desegregation.[38] All students and faculty directly involved in the desegregation move received notices from the school board of their transfers. No choice was provided to any of the students or faculty in selecting assignments.[39]

The school board and the superintendent were directly responsible for the desegregation plan, the restructuring of the district, and the plan of action utilized to comply with the court's demand to desegregate. A significant number of black community representatives were not satisfied with the desegregation plan that the school board had proposed. This attitude was based, in part, on the allegedly disproportionate ratio of black to white professionals and the closing of schools traditionally identified as black.[40]

The Bogalusa school district has had two separate State teachers' associations--the Louisiana Education Association (LEA) and the Louisiana Teachers Association (LTA)--representing its teachers. The LEA represents the black teachers of the Bogalusa school district and the LTA represents white teachers. Both associations were basically against the desegregation move.[41]

The Louisiana Education Association projected a general concensus which agreed with the entire concept and intent of desegregation. As a result, its rejection was not a rejection of desegregation, but a definite refusal to approve of the manner in which the plan was being formulated and its implementation. On the other hand, the LTA protested that the contracts of its members to teach at previously assigned schools was legal and binding.[42]

The superintendent and his immediate administrative staff permitted little or no

participation from faculty in preparing the plan. As a consequence, the plan was viewed by black community members as being extremely biased--favoring the white community.[43] Some blacks foresaw that, if such a plan were implemented, black administrators would be cut back as decisionmaking positions became fewer. Black faculty members and administrative staff viewed this plan as detrimental to their representation within the school system.[44]

The majority of white faculty members were content with the separate school systems and were, therefore, against desegregation. Numerous unsuccessful attempts to reverse the court order brought about the realization that there would be no other alternative but to desegregate.[45] The attitudes of the white faculty and the white community reflected the position that the court could order desegregation, but it could never order their acceptance of that action.[46]

Preceding the 1969 desegregation move, the Bogalusa school district requested that the Educational Resource Center in New Orleans provide workshops for faculty members.[47] The school district selected the topics to be discussed and also chose the teachers they wished to attend the workshops. According to Dr. Melvin Gruwell, director of the resource center, most of the teachers had a very negative attitude. As a result, the workshops were not useful or successful in training and preparing teachers to achieve quality integration. Furthermore, the existing curriculum was not altered for desegregation purposes.[48] In Dr. Gruwell's opinion, these workshops were "a waste of time."[49]

The faculty's negative position towards desegregation was not an unusual attitude of the day. But it was a reflection of the serious problems the school district was experiencing. The attitudes of the faculty and the district were in general also the attitudes of the community.

Because district schools had failed to overcome segregation through the "Freedom of Choice Plan," the district court ordered immediate and complete desegregation of all schools and faculties. White teachers initially refused to accept transfers to black

schools to meet integration ratios. The degree of protest and opposition displayed by district educators towards desegregation prompted black parents to question the effectiveness of desegregation. Negative feelings were formed in both the black and white communities. Blacks strongly opposed the district's closing of their schools and white parents opposed their children's going to school with blacks.[50]

Desegregation also brought about a considerable reduction in the number of black professionals and demotions for many who remained. This action was seen as being severely detrimental to black representation within the district. Nonetheless, the school district did receive the district court's approval of its plan. However, the physical move to desegregate did not change the attitude of the district or the community toward the whole concept of integration.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Jenkins, Original Complaint, July 19, 1965, at 1 and 2.

2. Ibid., at 1.

3. Jenkins, Order, Aug. 12, 1965, at 1.

4. Ibid., at 3.

5. Ibid., at 4.

6. Jenkins, Corrected Notice and Motion for Supplemental Relief, May 26, 1966, at 2.

7. New York Times, July 9, 1965, p. 1.

8. Ibid.

9. Jenkins, Supplemental and Amended Order, Aug. 15, 1966, at 1.

10. Ibid.

11. School board members and community representative, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 10, 1976.

12. Jenkins, Supplemental and Amended Order, Aug. 15, 1966, at 1.

13. "Bogalusa is Split on Negro Teachers," New York Times, Sept. 16, 1966.

14. "Legal Notice," Bogalusa Daily News, Sept. 28, 1967, p. 1.

15. Ibid.

16. "Washington Parish Gets New Order to Integrate," New Orleans Times-Picayune, Oct. 20, 1967 (original order unavailable).

17. Jenkins, Order, Jan. 19, 1968, at 1.

18. "14 White Teachers Comply with Order, One Resigns," Morning Advocate, Jan. 30, 1968.

19. Ibid.

20. "Parish School Order Drops Zoning Plan," Bogalusa Daily News, Apr. 14, 1968, p. 1.

21. "Racial Tension and Fears Cloud Integration at La. School," Washington Post, Sept. 27, 1970, p. H-3.

22. "Judge Rejects Local School Integration Plan," Bogalusa Daily News, June 23, 1969, p. 1.

23. William Bailey, Jr., former president, Bogalusa NAACP, letter to Superintendent M. J. Israel, June 19, 1968 (NAACP files, Washington Parish Branch).

24. Jenkins, Order, June 18, 1969, at 1-2.

25. Bogalusa School Board, letter to Judge Heebe, summer of 1969.

26. Jenkins, Order, June 18, 1969, at 1-2.

27. Emmett Breland, school board member, and A.E. Knight, school board member, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 10, 1976.

28. Community representative, staff interview, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 10, 1976.

29. Superintendent Frank Mobley, and A. E. Knight, school board member, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-10, 1976.

30. Superintendent Mobley, staff interview, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9, 1976.

31. Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483, 494 (1954).

32. Jenkins, Memorandum Opinion and Order, July 22, 1969, at 2.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. Information from NAACP files, Bogalusa chapter, provided by William Bailey, former president, Feb. 9, 1976.

36. "Won't Withdraw School Plan, Board Tells Group," Bogalusa Daily News, Aug. 1, 1969, p. 1.

37. Ibid.

38. Counselors, assistant principal, and faculty member, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-10, 1976.

39. Faculty members, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-10, 1976.

40. Community representatives, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-10, 1976.

41. Faculty members, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 10, 1976.

42. "14 White Teachers Comply with Order, One Resigns," Morning Advocate, Jan. 30, 1968.

43. Community representative, staff interview, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 10, 1976.

44. Counselor and faculty members, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9, 1976.

45. "Won't Withdraw School Plan, Board Tells Group," Bogalusa Daily News, Aug. 1, 1969, p. 1.

46. Emmett Breland, A.E. Knight, school board members, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-10, 1976.

47. The Educational Resource Center in New Orleans was first established in 1969 to assist school districts with desegregation. It is funded through a Title IV grant of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. (42 U.S.C. § 2000c et seq.) The center employs education experts to assist school districts in obtaining quality integrated education. Education programs, conferences, and work sessions are also formulated according to the

particular needs of the district. In general, the center assesses the overall progress of the school district and extends its recommendations for overcoming whatever problems the district is experiencing. However, assistance is provided solely upon invitation from the superintendent of schools.

48. Superintendent Mobley, staff interview, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9, 1976.

49. Dr. Gruwell, director, Educational Resource Center, telephone interview, Oct. 6, 1976.

50. Interviews with principal, faculty, and community representatives, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-11, 1976.

IV. IMPLEMENTING SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE ROAD AHEAD

The atmosphere in which desegregation occurred in Bogalusa during the 1960s was highly emotional. Many of those interviewed felt that race relations were bad before initiation of the 1969 desegrgation plan. The overall assessment derived from Commission interviews with respect to the white community was that they did not want desegregation or a change in the status quo.[1] On the other hand, the black community generally felt that the need for quality education existed, and if it could only be attained through desegregation (assuming a just plan were presented), it would be supported.[2]

The paramount problems and issues in Bogalusa in 1969 were of a racial nature. Whites rejected equalization of the two races through their refusal to desegregate,[3] and blacks refused to accept the continuation of the discriminatory practices of the past.[4] The general attitude harbored by the black community was that the leadership of the white community was very effective in influencing the school board.[5]

The desegregation plan of 1969 was formulated and implemented by an all-white school board and administrative staff. Overall, the plan was viewed by the black community as unsatisfactory. It was felt that the desegregation plan was biased and leaned heavily upon minorities. Blacks favored desegregation, but generally opposed the methods used to accomplish the means.

On the other hand, while the white community did not favor desegregation, it could live with the plan.[6] Many felt desegregation would have occurred eventually and that the plan was merely complying with the law.[7]

The 1969 desegregation plan was implemented in such haste that those objecting to the plan were not allowed the opportunity to voice their opinion.

Students and the general public were not prepared for the change that occurred. According to one school official, there was no time to arrange meetings and training sessions. The court order to totally desegregate the school district was approved in late July 1969 and compliance with that order was completed in the latter part of August. The school board and superintendent viewed their role as fulfilling the requirements of the law.[8]

According to staff interviews, the faculty and the community as a whole did not participate in the planning process.[9] Upon receipt of the court order, Superintendent M. J. Israel appointed a four-member staff led by Marion Mills,[10] a visiting teacher, to formulate a plan which would comply with the court order. Ms. Mills was asked in a staff interview if she had ever sought community comments or assistance. Her reply was negative:

> ...Other than advice from the school district's attorney, input from other sources to prepare a plan was not necessary because all statistics, reports, and important documentation was recorded in my office.[11]

The plan closed the only two black elementary schools in the district. One faculty member said that the elementary school buildings were shut down by the district even though they were in very good condition, but that no white schools were closed. Blacks felt that this move clearly displayed the biased views of school district administrators and ignored the needs of the black community. Of crucial concern to the black community was the Central Memorial High School building (the only black high school) which was restructured to enroll students in grade nine. For many blacks in Bogalusa, Central Memorial was not only a school, but also a source of pride for the community. Blacks commented that through the process of eradicating all identifiable black schools and symbols of black scholastic and athletic achievements, the district indirectly attacked the representation and the overall worth of the black community.[12]

The Washington Post presented this account of the Bogalusa situation:

> The school board preserved only memories of white glory in the integrated high school's trophy room, while the prizes of five black state football championships were consigned to the black YMCA.
>
> Even the former black high school's identity was erased as Central Memorial High School, named in honor of World War II black war dead, became Bogalusa East.
>
> These kinds of issues may individually seem trivial compared to great constitutional questions, but to today's black youngsters they are the everyday matters that determine whether integration means true equalization or continued white supremacy.[13]

Owing to the racial tensions in Bogalusa, attempts to combine community efforts of blacks and whites for the purpose of successfully integrating was an extremely difficult task. Efforts on the part of the school board to facilitate desegregation by preparing its faculty and students were lacking.[14] The clubs and social organizations that existed at Central Memorial were discontinued. School-sponsored organizations at Bogalusa High were divided into oncampus and offcampus activities.[15]

In an effort to deal with the problems of racial tensions and to peacefully implement the desegregation plan, a biracial group which including black leaders A.Z. Young, Robert Hicks, Gail Jenkins, and leading white citizens, was created. Increased racial tensions in the school prompted this group to request that the school board reestablish the parent-teacher association (PTA) and allow the PTA to mediate with students. The school board refused to grant the requests.[16]

The effort on the part of community members to assist students in adapting to an integrated school setting came about because of student confrontations on campuses. In September of 1970, for example, a major racial clash on the high school's west campus occurred. The New York Times reported:

> A two-hour fight today between white and black students at an integrated high school was broken up by policemen using tear gas.
>
> School Superintendent M. J. Israel closed all Bogalusa schools for an indefinite period.
>
> Police Chief Thomas J. Mixon, Jr., estimated that 600 students took part in the fight. He called it "a major civil disorder."[17]

In another school demonstration, black students protested the segregated system. Statements on their placards displayed their views: "Integration on Outside, Segregation on the Inside," "Bogalusa System of Integration is Unconstitutional," "We're Tired of Integrated Schools with Segregated Rules."[18]

In December 1975 there were renewed tensions between the school board and black community members. Strained relations between the two groups were aggravated by the school board refusal to meet with the Bogalusa Voters League to discuss racial problems within the schools. According to the Bogalusa Daily News:

> The trouble began last Wednesday when a white student at the west campus allegedly stabbed a black student during a fight between the two. The situation worsened Thursday after six black students allegedly assualted three white students and groups of black and white students refused to return to class after a lunch period.[19]

The school board refused to meet with the Voters League reportedly because "the board was not ready to talk to them."[20]

Throughout the entire desegregation process in Bogalusa busing was not a significant issue. Because of the rural nature of the district large numbers of minority and white students were already being bused to schools prior to implementation of the desegregation plan.[21] For example, more than 40 percent of all the students were being bused during the 1968-69 school year. Because most of these students lived in rural

areas, the idea of being transported to attend school was accepted as a necessity even before 1969. However, busing was an important issue prior to the 1969 plan because of allegations presented by plaintiffs that it was a definite means of segregation.[22] Plaintiffs pointed out that white bus drivers only transported white students and black bus drivers only black students. As a result, the district court ordered buses routed so as to eliminate any pattern of racially segregated school buses.[23] Before the 1969 desegregation move, the total percentage of white students bused was significant when compared to black students. For example, during the 1967-68 school year, more than 80 percent of all students bused were white; blacks only comprised about 20 percent of all students bused.[24]

Another major problem arising out of the 1969 desegregation plan was the reduction and demotion of a large number of black teachers and administrators in the district. Many blacks viewed this action with resentment and protested.[25]

One incident vividly illustrates the frustrations of this process and its effect on the black community. With the implementation of desegregation during the 1969-70 school year, the black principal of Central Memorial High School was immediately demoted to assistant principal. At the same school, a white assistant principal had more responsibilities and authority over school operations. This process was repeated many times during the first year of desegregation.[26]

The intensity of the black community's resentment toward these demotions and the closing of its schools is described in the following Washington Post article:

> The Bogalusa black students' resentment began with the manner in which integration was carried out. For example, two relatively new elementary schools in black neighborhoods were closed and their students sent to older schools in white neighborhoods. School officials said sanitary conditions were unsafe near the closed schools....

The account continues:

> A specific complaint of blacks (and one heard throughout the South) concerns the demotion of the black principal of Central Memorial High School and all other black principals in the district... [according to one black administrator the intent was] to eliminate black administrative leadership in the public schools....[27]

Black faculty members originally saw desegregation as having a negative impact on black teachers and children.[28] One black counselor felt that desegregation was especially hard on black children.[29]

Black students, on the other hand, generally felt that desegregation was necessary to get a better education, but they were skeptical of what desegregation would do for them. One black student, for instance, said that a major concern of many blacks centered on the negative effects desegregation would immediately bring, such as the closing of black schools. They felt, he added, that equal education was justifiable yet they did not believe that the actions taken by the school board were necessary. The closing of black schools and subsequent assignments to formerly all-white schools often made blacks feel like intruders, he said, and "segregation made blacks feel inferior." This feeling was reinforced by the great number of white students who objected to the idea of desegregation.[30]

Recalling how it was for the first two blacks at Bogalusa High School in 1966, J. L. Bickham, principal of the school, said, "I wore out two pairs of shoes walking those black boys to class. They got beat up everytime they were out of my sight."[31]

Black children were also faced with a difficult transition--from black school surroundings to white surroundings, from predominantly black administrators to predominantly white ones. White school administrators allegedly did not display concern about the possibility of black students having difficulties in adjusting to their new school environment.[32]

White students appeared for the most part to be opposed to desegregation. Much of this opposition was directed at those blacks entering predominantly white schools. To many white students, blacks were indeed "intruders."[33]

Another outcome of desegregation in Bogalusa is the large number of black students being placed in classes for the educable mentally retarded (EMR). A number of black parents expressed concern over this situation. Many felt that the method used to categorize children as needing special education was questionable at best, and that this method was resulting in the resegregation of black children in desegregated schools.[34]

Table 9 shows that, for the 1974-75 school year, of 129 students placed in EMR classes, 66 percent were black and 34 percent were white. This proportion was almost the reverse of the total student racial composition in the district. During that school year blacks constituted about 39 percent of the student enrollment and whites approximately 61 percent (see table 4). Thus, the proportion of black students assigned to EMR classes during the 1974-75 school year was nearly twice that in the total enrollment.

The following year (1975-76) EMR classes revealed an even greater disproportion in the ratio of blacks to whites. Of the 124 students categorized as educable mentally retarded (EMR), 73 percent were black and 27 percent were white. This comparison further reveals that, while 1 percent of all white students are assigned to EMR classes, 5 percent of all black students are categorized as educable mentally retarded.

Community members also expressed an interest in the high number of disciplinary problems, specifically suspensions, that the district was experiencing.[35] School administrators acknowledged the existence of these problems by commenting that students are more difficult to discipline than in the past and that there is a notable lack of respect for those in authority.[36]

For the school year 1974-75, suspension rates clearly indicated a severe problem (see table 10). First-time suspensions made up 13 percent of the total student enrollment. Of those suspended, 63 percent

Table 9

Comparison of Racial Composition for EMR Students to Total Student Body 1974-75, 1975-76

	STUDENTS		
1974-75 School Year	White	Black	Total
	3,005 (61.4%)	1,891 (38.6%)	4,896
Categorized Educable Mentally Retarded	44	85	129
Percentage of Total EMR	34.1%	65.9%	100%
1975-76 School Year	2,892 (62.0%)	1,776 (38.0%)	4,668
Categorized Educable Mentally Retarded	34	90	124
Percentage of Total EMR	27.4%	72.6%	100%

SOURCE: Bogalusa School District Emergency School Act Aid (ESAA) Proposal 1976, Office for Civil Rights.

Table 10

Total First-time Suspensions by Race for 1974-75 and 1975-76 Bogalusa School District

School Year	Total School Pop.	Total Suspensions	Percentage of Total Suspensions	Race	Suspensions	Student Pop.	Percentage of Suspensions
1974-75	5021	655	13.04%	Black	415	1,937	21.42%
				White	240	3,084	7.78%
1975-76	4668*	484	10.36%	Black	298	1,776	16.77%
				White	186	2,892	6.43%

SOURCE: Louisiana Department of Education, Report of Suspensions by City for 1974-75, Baton Rouge, La., and State Department of Education, Bureau of Student Services, Table XXII-B, Suspensions and Expulsions, 1975-76; 1975-76 Student enrollment from Bogalusa School District, ESAA Proposal 1976.

were black and 37 percent were white. This comparison also indicates the disporportionate percentage of black to white suspensions.

The following year showed a considerable improvement in the overall number of suspensions. Black suspensions dropped by 5 percent and white suspensions by 1 percent. But the proportion of black to white suspensions still remained unusually high. In 1975-76 there were 1,776 black students within the district; 16.8 percent of all black students were suspended. From a total of 2,892 white students, 6.4 percent were suspended during the year.

Figure 3 graphically describes the overall trend in student suspension rates and clearly shows a definite problem of discipline beginning at the seventh grade. For black students the number of suspensions appears to reach its peak at the ninth-grade level. White students, on the other hand, appear to have a definite problem with suspensions from the seventh through ninth grade, but from the 10th through 12th grade, there is a sharp decrease in suspensions.

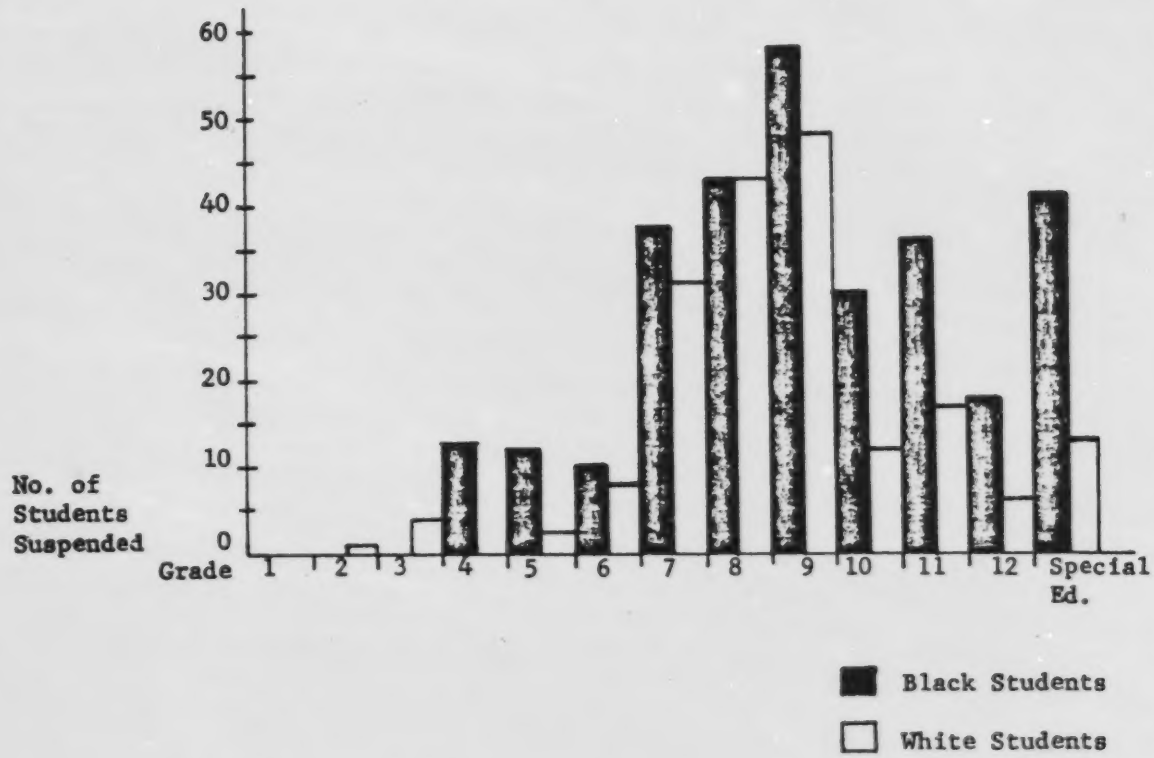
Suspensions are also a problem within the special education group. Of the 90 black students enrolled in special education classes for 1975-76, 41 (or 45.6 percent) were suspended. Of the 34 white students enrolled in special education classes, 13 (or 38.2 percent) were suspended.[37]

The reasons cited by school officials for suspensions were mainly concentrated in five categories: (1) cutting class/leaving campus, (2) smoking, (3) disrespect for authority, (4) fighting with students and/or faculty, and (5) disturbance in classroom and/or campus. Table 11 gives the number of suspensions by race and category for the 1975-76 school year. A significant number of blacks were suspended for "fighting students and/or faculty" and for "disrespect for authority." The two most notable problems with white students were "fighting with students and/or faculty" and "cutting class/leaving campus."

Another problem perceived by many is that most social functions and extracurricular activities are

FIGURE 3

Black and White Student Suspensions
Bogalusa School District -
1975-76 School Year



SOURCE: Louisiana Department of Education, Table XXII-B, Suspensions and Expulsions for Black and White Students, Baton Rouge, La., 1976

Table 11

Number of Suspensions by Race and Categorization
Bogalusa School District 1975-76

Reasons	Total Suspensions	Number Suspended			
		Black		White	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Cutting Class/Leaving Campus	141	80	56.7%	61	43.3%
Smoking	111	70	63.1%	41	36.9%
Disrespect for Authority	203	162	79.8%	41	20.2%
Fighting Students and/or Faculty	262	185	70.6%	77	29.4%
Disturbance in Classroom and/or Campus	139	114	82.0%	25	18.0%
Total	856	611	71.4%	245	28.6%

SOURCE: Louisiana Department of Education, Baton Rouge, La., 1976.

allegedly segregated. School activities are kept to a minimum or are notably segregated by classifying them as "off-campus." For example, there are two high school proms held each year, one black and one white. The majority of school clubs and activities are classified as "off-campus" and consequently segregated.[38] According to Leon Burns, president of the Black Teachers' Association, there is questionable integration in school clubs, sports, and student organizations.[39]

From 1965 to 1975 the district has undergone a tremendous amount of change, but through this process many new problems have erupted within the district. Statistics reveal a definite erosion of black professionals, an unusually high percentage of blacks in special education classes, and a significant number of students being suspended for disciplinary purposes. These problems were of considerable concern to community members as well as to faculty and administrators. The problems have yet to be resolved.

Despite physical desegregation, many elements within the district's educational program still contain vestiges of the dual school system. According to many of those interviewed, the school district has failed to integrate students entirely in all aspects of its educational environment. Others have characterized the present desegregation plan as weak and without direction. Furthermore, the district has allegedly promoted a continuation of segregated social functions and extracurricular activities by classifying them as "off-campus."

Although desegregation in Bogalusa has been implemented, the road ahead appears to be tortuous indeed. The question of accountability is still to be resolved. The vestiges of a dual system still remain and blacks are still isolated. While some progress has beem made, the public schools in Bogalusa still have a long way to go before the equal education is available to all, blacks and whites.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Community representatives, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-11, 1976.

2. Community representatives, faculty member, and student, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-10, 1976.

3. Louis Rawls, Mayor; Emmett Breland, school board member; and a community representative, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 10-11, 1976.

4. Faculty member, staff interview, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 10, 1976.

5. Community representative, staff interview, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 10, 1976.

6. Mayor, community representatives, faculty member, and school district administrator, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-10, 1976.

7. Emmett Breland and A.E. Knight, school board members, and Marion Mills, visiting teacher, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-10, 1976.

8. Mills interview.

9. Superintendent, principals, and faculty members, staff interviews, Feb. 9-10, 1976, Bogalusa, La.

10. Ms. Mills retired in June 1976 and was replaced by J.L. Bickham, a former Bogalusa High School principal.

11. Mills interview.

12. Faculty member, staff interview, Feb. 10, 1976, Bogalusa, La., and telephone interview, Oct. 7, 1976.

13. "Racial Tension and Fears Cloud Integration at La. School," Washington Post, Sept. 27, 1970, p. H-3.

14. Emmett Breland, school board member, staff interview, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 10, 1976.

15. J.C. Crump, former high school principal telephone interview, Sept. 3, 1976.

16. "Racial Tension and Fears Cloud Integration at La. School," Washington Post, Sept. 27, 1970, p. H-3.

17. "Flight Closes School in Bogalusa, La.," New York Times, Sept. 15, 1970.

18. "Blacks in Bogalusa Quietly Demonstrate," Morning Advocate (New Orleans), Sept. 24, 1970, p. 7-G.

19. Ibid.

20. Bogalusa Daily News, Dec. 19, 1975.

21. Bogalusa School Board, 1967-68. Jenkins, School Board response to amended Aug. 15, 1966, court order, 1967, at 4.

22. Jenkins, Memorandum in Support of Motion for Supplemental Relief, May 17, 1967, at 3.

23. Jenkins, Order, Aug. 1, 1967, at 4.

24. Jenkins, School Board response to amended court order of Aug. 15, 1966, Bogalusa School Board, 1967-68, at 4.

25. Faculty member and community representatives, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9, 1976.

26. "Racial Tension and Fears Cloud Integration at La. School," Washington Post, Sept. 27, 1970, p. H-3.

27. Ibid.

28. School board members and school officials, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-10, 1976.

29. Counselor and community leader, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9, 1976.

30. Student, principals, Rev. Willie Brown, religious leader, and Marion Mills, visiting teacher, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-10, 1976.

31. "Racial Tension and Fears Cloud Integration at La. School," Washington Post, Sept. 27, 1970, p. H-3.

32. Counselor and principal, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9, 1976.

33. Community representative, staff interview, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9, 1976.

34. EMR classes are for students who are slow learners and have an intelligence which is below normal. Students are usually chosen on the basis of intelligence (I.Q.) test scores and recommendations from teachers and counselors. A report of the Texas Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Working With Your School, states that, in the past, teachers and school officials viewed EMR classes as a benefit for slower students because they were taught at a slower pace and could advance at their own rate of speed. Therefore, students in special education would not experience the frustrations of competing with higher achievers. Research in special education does not support this view. Furthermore, the courts are becoming aware of the possible misinterpretation of intelligence tests and their role in placing students in EMR classes. In one leading case, P. v. Riles, 343 F. Supp. 1306 (N.D. Calif., 1972), the court ordered that, if there existed a race imbalance within the EMR classes, intelligence tests could not be used as a criteria for placing black students in these classes. See also faculty member and community representative, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-10, 1976.

35. Community representatives, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-10, 1976.

36. Principal, counselor, and faculty member, staff interviews, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 9-10, 1976.

37. Bogalusa School District, Emergency School Act Aid (ESAA) Proposal 1976, Office for Civil Rights.

38. Faculty representative, staff interview, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 10, 1976.

39. Leon Burns, LEA president, staff interview, Bogalusa, La., Feb. 10, 1976.

V. FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based upon its investigation, the Louisiana Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reports the following findings and recommendations:

Finding 1:

The State Advisory Committee finds that, despite some degree of physical desegregation, many elements within the educational program of the district still contain vestiges of the dual school system. The school district has failed to integrate students entirely in all aspects of its educational environment.

Recommendations:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights request that the U.S. Department of Justice immediately review all aspects of the desegregation plan as it is presently being implemented in Bogalusa to determine whether the district has, in fact, fully and effectively dismantled its dual school system and is assuring the constitutional rights of all students. If it is determined that the district is not in compliance, the Department of Justice should pursue litigative procedures to correct remaining discrepancies.

The advisory Committee further recommends that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights request that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) immediately undertake a comprehensive onsite review of the school district to determine its compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. If violations are discovered, they should be noted promptly, and, in the event the district does not remedy them, HEW should undertake administrative proceedings under its mandate to terminate all Federal

funds being provided to the district (42.U.S.C. 2000d(1964)).

Finding 2:

The school board and superintendent have displayed a lack of commitment to bringing about successful school desegregation through their failure to educate the community on all action required to bring about an effective desegregation effort of district schools. Furthermore, the school district has been derelict in preparing its faculty and administrative staff for desegregation.

Recommendations:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the school board immediately institute cultural awareness training sessions for all teachers and administrative staff. Participation should be supervised by specially trained human relations specialists. These sessions should be part of a continuous program which would constantly present new issues, problems, and solutions. In carrying through this recommendation, the school board should hold the superintendent directly responsible for enforcing and properly directing such a program. The district, in implementing these sessions, should consider the possibility of utilizing State agencies such as the Resource and Assistance Center located in New Orleans. This agency has been established by the State to aid districts in bringing about school desegregation (42.U.S.C.§2000c *et seq*. (1964)).

The district should also implement a performance rating of faculty members by the superintendent in order to evaluate each teacher's ability to function broadly as an educator within a desegregated school environmnet. Such evaluative criteria should include a teacher's command of the subject matter, skill in establishing authority and control of classes, and a willingness to be unbiased in and equally responsive to all students regardless of race. Principals at each school would be directly responsible to the superintendent for these annual reports and any other criticisms of improper conduct of their faculty.

The Advisory Committee also recommends that the school district immediately reestablish parent-teacher associations (PTA). The school district should further extend its full cooperation in allowing parents to mediate with teachers and organize school functions and activities.

The Advisory Committee further recommends that the school board establish a biracial advisory committee aided by special consultants and education experts to handle desegregation problems and provide necessary assistance to the school district. In addition, the committee should have the responsibility of evaluating the district's achievement in attaining complete integration of all instructional programs, and its progress in dealing with the social, mental, and instructional needs of all its students through effective integration.

Finding 3:

The district has promoted a continuation of segregated social functions and extracurricular activities by classifying them "offcampus." This practice clearly reflects the school district's persistent intention to retain the separate but equal provisions which were rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954.

Recommendations:

The Bogalusa school board, as elected representatives of the entire community and in light of their moral and legal responsibilities, must establish and administer guidelines which will treat in a positive manner the problems and pertinent issues resulting from desegregation. The superintendent should be held directly responsible for thoroughly administering these policies.

In addition, the Advisory Committee recommends that the school board immediately undertake action to desegregate all social and extracurricular functions. The district must realize that desegregation is not limited to the physical assignment of students but must incorporate a comprehensive approach to include all

extracurricular activities within the educational system.

Finding 4:

The Advisory Committee finds that black students tend to be suspended more frequently than white students. During the 1975-76 school year, blacks comprised approximately 62 percent of all first-time suspensions, but only 38 percent of the total student body.

Recommendations:

The district should intensively evaluate suspensions, and if any discrepancy appears, the superintendent should immediately develop and implement a plan to deal with this problem.

The Advisory Committee further recommends that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights recommend to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, that as part of its Title VI compliance review, HEW investigate suspension problems in the district to see whether they constitute a means for discriminating against black students.

Finding 5:

The Advisory Committee finds that there are an unusually high number of black students in special education classes. During the 1975-76 school year, for example, blacks comprised 73 percent of all students in special education.

Recommendations:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the superintendent immediately undertake a comprehensive review of testing procedures for placement in special education classes to ensure that all students have been properly evaluated. The Advisory Committee further recommends that all students be retested in accordance with testing instruments which have been evaluated to ensure against racial, cultural, and language bias.

The Advisory Committee also recommends that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights urge the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to undertake a review of the school district's testing and placement procedures for special education classes to ensure against possible civil rights violations. If discrepancies are found, steps should be taken to rectify the problem.

Finding 6:

Blacks are presently underrepresented at all professional levels within the school district.

Recommendations:

The Advisory Committee strongly recommends that the Bogalusa school district immediately formulate and establish an affirmative action plan. The district initially should do a comprehensive review of all employment levels to assess accurately the areas where blacks are underrepresented. Such a plan should include periodic public progress reports and the establishment of detailed hiring and promotion goals. Procedures should also be established for regular evaluation of the plan to determine progress in attaining goals. Furthermore, the Advisory Committee recommends that recruitment of blacks at the professional level be vigorously undertaken to promote employment of blacks to a level at least comparable with the representation in black student enrollment. The affirmative action plan should contain at least the following items:

- A statement outlining the district's equal employment opportunity policy;
- The appointment of a senior district official with responsibility and authority to implement the plan;
- Publication and distribution of the plan to all employees and provision of training programs regarding its content and implementation;
- A survey and analysis of minority and sex employment by teaching level and/or job

classification to determine the extent of underutilization;

- The establishment of specific, measurable, attainable, hiring and promotion goals with target dates in each area of underutilization;

- The assignment of specific responsibility to the superintendent and all principals to assist in meeting district goals;

- The establishment of specific programs to implement affirmative action goals. These should include but not be limited to recruitment, training, counseling, upward mobility, review and revision of job descriptions, hiring criteria, and employment procedures to ensure nondiscrimination; and

- The development of internal systems to monitor and measure progress on a regular basis.

The school district should also keep current records of the total number of school district employees by job classification and school level taught. These figures should also reflect the race and sex of all employees at each job category and professional level. The Advisory Committee believes that this will allow the district to better review and assess its employment situation in order to develop more realistic goals and timetables.

APPENDIX A

Methodology

In the latter part of 1975, research was initiated at the Southwestern Regional Office on the Commission's national desegregation project. Preliminary investigation consisted of reviewing all statistical information available on desegregated school districts in selected States. Following a review of the data, interviews were conducted with local, State, and Federal education experts to further obtain a working knowledge of these districts. Visits were then made to the various State departments of education, desegregation centers, and, to some degree, community organizations. Final selection involved consideration of district size, a district's apparent success or failure in desegregating, and recommendations from Federal, State, and local officials. The Bogalusa School District was subsequently selected for one of 24 such studies.

The Commission, with the consultation of noted education and sociology experts, formulated a series of questionnaires to be followed in the interviewing process. In early February 1976, the Commission's Regional Office staff and Advisory Committee members conducted extensive field interviews in Bogalusa on that community's efforts to desegregate its schools. Among those interviewed were school board members, the superintendent, various administrators, faculty members, students, community leaders, and parents.

Wherever possible, at least one white and one black interviewee were selected for each category. Additional field investigations were conducted by Commission staff from March through November 1976. These investigations consisted of recontacting interviewees, extensively researching the litigative process, reviewing news media coverage, and obtaining more specific statistics on the district. Collected data was compiled and carefully reviewed for consistency and factual interpretation.

A final copy of the draft report was sent to the superintendent of the Bogalusa School District, Dr. Frank Mobley, on December 1, 1976. Dr. Mobley reviewed the report for accuracy and interpretation. His comments were taken into consideration and, where appropriate, incorporated into the report.

APPENDIX B

Response of the Bogalusa School District to the Report

Commission policy requires that all Advisory committee reports, with the exception of findings and recommendations, be sent to agencies significantly mentioned in the report for review and comment prior to publication and release, and that all agency comments be considered and incorporated in the report where appropriate. Agencies have 20 working days to respond, and extensions may be given by the Advisory Committee.

For the purpose of this policy, a significantly mentioned agency is any one about which statistical or other meaningful information is provided or about which findings and/or conclusions are made.

The intent of this policy is to afford agencies and individuals an opportunity to: (1) correct inaccuracies which we may report (before such inaccuracies are made public), (2) bring to attention any changes or developments between the time of investigation and report publication, and (3) to express opinions and conclusions different from those in the report.

Pursuant to this, copies of the draft report were sent to Dr. Frank Mobley, superintendent of the Bogalusa School District, on December 1, 1976. The letter from J. Richard Avena, director of the Southwestern Regional Office, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, to Superintendent Mobley inviting the district to review the draft report for accuracy and information is included in this appendix.

In response, Superintendent Mobley submitted a reply dated January 7, 1977, which is also included in this appendix.

Careful consideration was given to Dr. Mobley's contention that the figures in table 8 are incorrect. A number of attempts were made by staff of the Southwestern Regional Office to verify the figures submitted by the district. However, because of inconsistent data it was decided to use the statistics originally submitted by the district in February 1976. These data were provided to Commission staff through a special survey form submitted to the district in January 1976. That information was supported, in part, in the district's ESEA proposal also submitted in 1976. In a subsequent letter dated February 9, 1977, Dr. Mobley noted that the information on table 8 was correct for black teachers for both years, 1964-65 and

1975-76. However, he added, for white personnel the total should be 187 for 1964 and 178 for 1976.

A final concern that I have is that much of the basis for the conclusion that integration is not working very well in the Bogalusa School System is based upon problems which are not unique to Bogalusa, but rather are common to all desegregated schools. It seems from the report that there is some stigma to the school system that was desegregated by court order. I call to your attention that, by and large, the vast majority of schools which have been desegregated have been done so only by court order, including those of the North, like Boston. The Bogalusa School Board did, indeed, feel that freedom of choice was the most appropriate means of bringing about integration of the schools. However, the court disagreed and under court order of the court the Bogalusa School Board has done its utmost to make integration work. The Bogalusa School System is criticized for having special education classes that are predominately black, for having a high suspension rate among blacks and for the negative attitudes of both public and school personnel toward desegregation. Again, this is not unique in Bogalusa. You must levy that criticism at almost all desegregated public schools in the United States.

I mentioned above several errors which need to be corrected. One of those is found on page 54 in which it states that "there are two (2) high school proms held each year, one black, one white." This is untrue. The Bogalusa School System sponsors no proms, nor do any of its schools. Any prom held would have to be done by some outside group and it could not be sponsored by a Bogalusa School.

The figures in Table VIII on page 33 are incorrect. In 1964 there were 97 black teachers in the Bogalusa School System, but in 1976 there were 81, a difference of 16 rather than the 20 which you show. At the same time in 1964 there were 175 white teachers, but in 1976 there were 168 white teachers rather than the 190 which you show. This is a loss of 7 white teachers rather than a gain of 18 which you have shown.

Thank you for the opportunity to respond to the report.

Sincerely,

Frank Mobley

Frank Mobley
Superintendent

FM:mkb

As far as bias of the researchers is concerned let me site a few examples. The report is replete with value judgments made by the researchers rather than reporting what they found. On page 19 of the report there is a statement that "there is strong evidence indicating that school officials have failed to respond ....". There is no presentation of the "strong evidence" other than the bias of the writer or the value judgment made by the researcher.

The biases of the researchers may be seen more in what they failed to say than what they said. For example, on pages 13 through 18 there is a discussion of the faculty black-white ratios. The writers were very careful to point out several instances of low ratios of black to white faculty members, while at the same time ignoring as many, if not more, instances of higher black-white faculty ratio. The researchers were careful to point out the decrease in black administrators from prior to court-ordered desegregation to the implementation of the desegregation plan, but they failed to point out the increase in black administrators which has taken place in recent years. The biases may further be seen in that on page 13 the statement is made that "there are no positive measures being taken by the district to recruit more minorities into professional positions". While I am not sure what is meant by "positive measures," they fail to point out, and they were given this information, that this school system does not actively recruit white teachers because of a decreasing enrollment and decreasing need for professional personnel. The Bogalusa School Board hires blacks when there are vacancies and competent blacks are available. Further, the report fails to point out, while discussing the lack of blacks employed in the school board office, that a supervisory position was offered to a black and it was turned down.

A third thing that concerns me about the report is the conclusions which are drawn from the data. As I will demonstrate, the same data can be used to draw a completely different conclusion. For example, on page 30 it is reported that the desegregation plan did not "include allowances for the educational change students and faculty would have to undergo." At the same time, on page 37, a paragraph is written dealing with a series of workshops and/or conferences held by the Bogalusa School System under the direction of the Educational Resource Center of Tulane University, indicating that, indeed, there was effort made to make allowances for educational change. Further, what was not reported was that the conferences, termed by Dr. Gruwell as "a waste of time," were conducted by individuals whose only goal seemed to be inciting further hostile feelings between faculty members rather than helping faculty members learn to work together.

On page 40 it is stated that the desegregation plan "produced no real changes." I submit that the very information of the report is evidence of great changes which took place. Totally segregated schools were eliminated and totally integrated schools came into being, totally segregated buses began carrying students of both races, all-black and all-white faculties ceased to exist, procedures were implemented in the schools to insure that students of both races had positions of leadership and responsibility in student government as well as other activities.

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Bogalusa City Schools

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January 7, 1977

Mr. Richard Avena, Regional Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
New Moore Building
106 Broadway, Room 231
San Antonio, Texas 78205

Dear Mr. Avena:

The purpose of this letter is to respond to the report of the Louisiana Advisory Committee on school desegregation in Bogalusa, Louisiana. After carefully reviewing the report it would appear that the information provided therein is essentially accurate, with a few exceptions, which I will note later. My basic concerns have to do with the manner in which the report was conducted and published.

On the second page of the report there is a statement that individuals or organizations would be given the opportunity to respond to the report prior to any publication. However, excerpts and quotations from the report were included in a volume entitled, Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law, published by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in August, 1976, and widely circulated. Whatever publicity, favorable or unfavorable, which might result from the report has already taken place and covered by the newspapers. Any response at this time will have no effect on the attitudes of the public toward the report.

A second thing which concerns me is the manner in which the research and reporting was done. Any one who has knowledge of research procedures knows that the fewer subjects involved in a research project the less reliable are the conclusions which may be drawn. Further, good research demands that the biases of the researchers not be reflected in the reporting. In this report there is evidence of both conditions.

I realize that, in the limited amount of time, a research committee would be only able to sample a small number of opinions and/or attitudes. At the same time, the conclusions which are drawn should be tempered by the size of the sampled opinion. This report is filled with conclusions based on statements of one (1) person; such as, "interview with community representative," "interview with faculty member," "one (1) community leader felt," "another black leader said," just to site a few examples. While their opinions are certainly important, good research reporting dictates that the report indicate that it is based on opinions or samples on only a few, and certainly should not be used to draw inferences to the larger population.

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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December 1, 1976

Dr. Frank Mobley
Superintendent
Bogalusa City Schools
P. O. Box 310
Bogalusa, Louisiana 70427

Dear Dr. Mobley:

Enclosed are four copies of a draft report of the Louisiana Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights concerning school desegregation in Bogalusa. It would be helpful to the Advisory Committee if you would review the report for accuracy and interpretation.

Our primary concern is that the factual information on which our conclusions in the report are based is accurate. We realize that parts of the report are a matter of judgment based on our research. Our conclusions, therefore, may differ from the interpretation made by you. To the extent that such instances occur, we shall make every effort to reflect your position. Your comments will be given full consideration. Commission procedures provide 20 days from receipt of this communication within which to make a reply.

We want to stress that this report is only a draft; and, therefore, it should not be considered as an official document of the Louisiana Advisory Committee or the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Thank you very much for your assistance in this matter. In addition, I would like to express the Advisory Committee's appreciation for your cooperation during the course of this study.

Sincerely,

J. RICHARD AVENA
Regional Director

Enclosure (4)

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1977

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